

CHARTING LA VÍA CHILENA: NATIONAL IMAGINING
AND TEXTBOOK HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the relationship between regime politics, the political orientation of textbook authors and editors, and the national narratives of Chilean school history textbooks from the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's. It explains how history textbooks were used to cement a Conservative nationalist vision of Chile's past, and argues that the nationalist rhetoric of history textbooks was used as a political tool both in support of the Pinochet regime and against Chilean Marxists. Whereas these efforts were undertaken in the name of "national reconciliation," I argue that the aggressive re-construction of Chilean national imagining by supporters of the Pinochet regime only served to polarize Chilean national imagining between the political left and right. I conclude that the writing of less divisive or more inclusive national narratives will not fully address this legacy of the dictatorship. Instead, Chilean students should be encouraged to criticize the political abuses of shared nationalist discourses that took place in the 1970's and 1980's in order to come to terms with recent Chilean history.

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The findings of the Rettig Truth and Reconciliation Commission¹ coupled with the arrest and detention of Augusto Pinochet in London² destabilized narratives of Chilean national imagining. The uncovering of the state's role in human rights abuses has prompted Cristián Gazmuri, the Director of the Historical Institute at la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, and one of the country's leading Historians, to call "sacred, official history"³ into question. In his view, eighteen years of dictatorship has produced a dominant historical narrative that is uncritical of the abuses of the Pinochet regime. He believes that this single national story has subsumed all others in the school history textbooks of the past two decades. As an answer to this problem, Gazmuri proposes that Chile now needs a new vision of its past, one that problematizes narratives that portray the military as the saviors of Chile, credit it with averting civil war in 1973, with restoring the national soul ("alma nacional"), and with bringing about Chile's "miraculous" economic recovery. He ventures that 21st Century Chilean history textbook writers and editors must break with this official monopoly on the past and write new textbooks that will produce a lasting "reconciliation" in national memory.

I wish to trace the growth of a Conservative hegemony in Chilean national imagining through changes in school history textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s. In exploring the development of Chilean history textbook narratives through the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's, I posit a relationship between political orientation and national imagining that explains how history textbooks were used to cement a Conservative nationalist vision of Chile's past that was different from other political and nationalist ideologies. A better understanding of the ways in which the dictatorship and its supporters used national narratives as political tools should inform the writing of history textbooks in the 21st Century.

The national programs of Eduardo Frei's "Revolution in Liberty" (1964-70), Salvador Allende's "Road to Socialism" (1970-73), and Augusto Pinochet's "National Spiritual Integration" (1973-1988)⁴ were based on contrasting political visions and divergent ways of

imagining Chile. Chilean historical textbooks published from the 1960's to the early 1970's reflect these conflicting accounts of the nation.⁵ The link between regime politics and textbook narratives is indirect, mediated by the biases and underlying assumptions of textbook authors and editors.⁶ In theorizing the contested meanings of Chilean history textbooks there are two levels of relationship to consider: those between regimes and the voices of textbook authors on the one hand, and those between the political views of these authors, and their assumptions concerning the nature of *Chilenidad* (Chilean nationality) on the other.

Linkages between regime politics, the political views of textbook authors, and history textbook writing can be addressed by conceptualizing texts as sites of hegemonic struggle.⁷ The issue of the "ownership" of a given textual representation⁸ is particularly relevant to Chilean textbooks of the 1970's, where newer editions of older texts were sometimes altered after the death of the author.⁹ The demands of a changing political climate informed the production of Chilean school textbooks in the sense that anonymous editors, not the original authors, were sometimes responsible for revisions in school textbooks. In this sense, textbooks are forms of "cultural politics"¹⁰ that reflect the issue of "whose knowledge is legitimized."¹¹

Neither the plethora of influences behind textbook representations, nor the effects of these textbooks on students national imagining can be fully addressed. The relationship between regime ideologies and the political orientation and nationalist sentiment of particular textbooks, while apparent, is contested.¹² Michael Apple problematizes links between 'the state' and textbooks, pointing out that "dominant classes in the economic apparatus need not be the same as those dominant in some of the cultural apparatuses of society."¹³ Michel-Rolph Trouillot further undermines facile connections between dominant ideologies and the production of history by rejecting the idea that Historians merely express their party line, or that historical narratives can clearly expose ideological positions anchored in the present.¹⁴ Even within authoritarian political environments, such as Chile in the 1970's and 1980's, there is no direct

unmediated relationship between regime politics and history textbook narratives. History textbooks in recent Chilean history have continued to reflect dominant middle class discourses of nationalism, progress, and solidarity. One needs to qualify any claims regarding the relationship between regimes, the politics of textbook writers and editors, and textbook narratives, as well as be aware of cultural, personal, inter-textual and professional influences on textbook representations of the Chilean past.

Moreover, the national and political vision of these textbooks cannot be generalised to describe the beliefs of Chilean students. Curriculum theorists often distinguish between the “prescribed, delivered and received” curriculum as three different sources of historical understanding.¹⁵ Given that this study has not taken counter-hegemonic narratives into account, I cannot argue that a fusion of political vision and national imagining *effectively* intervened in the popular memory of Chilean high school students. Without comparing textbook narratives against student voices, personal memoirs,¹⁶ interviews, or performances on national university entrance exams, the “hidden script” of “popular memory from below” cannot be adequately addressed. Furthermore, even if it could be found that Chilean students demonstrated “mastery” of history textbook material, this wouldn’t prove that they had internalised it.¹⁷ Consequently, this study can only trace the fingerprints of Conservative hegemony within textbook representations, and cannot explore its effects on students.

Yet such limitations do not undercut the benefits of exploring the relationship between the Pinochet regime and the production of textbook narratives. The links between Chilean memory politics of the 1970’s and 1980’s and history textbooks were unusually pronounced. Chilean school history textbooks of the 1970’s and 1980’s idealised the nation in a manner consistent with, or at least not in conflict with, Conservative national narratives.¹⁸ This had not always been the case. Previously, history textbook writing had been informed by three major historical interpretations: Christian Democratic, Marxist, and Conservative. Each of these had

expressed different political orientations as well as related yet distinct national narratives.

Appendix 1, Table of Textbooks and Authors (see page 42) sets out the names of Chilean textbook writers, their respective political commitments, and the years of publication.

The majority of Chilean textbooks published in the mid to late 20th Century belonged to the Christian-Democratic historiography of the political centre and centre-left.¹⁹ Among these texts, the most commonly used were Luis Galdames' *Historia de Chile* and Francisco Frías' *Manual de Historia de Chile*.²⁰ Christian Democratic authors were often connected with different political regimes. Luis Galdames, one of the earliest and most influential of these textbook writers²¹, was director of primary education under Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1938-1941), and had also been the architect of educational decrees under earlier governments.²² His book was foundational for other Christian Democratic texts²³ and went through numerous publications after his death. In the 1950's and 1960's, his textbook faced competition from Frías' *Manual de Historia de Chile*. These books were in use from mid-century to the 1970's. In the 1970s, these two textbooks underwent moderate yet significant changes in accordance with the demands of a volatile political climate. Although it might be suggested that neither of these authors had much to do with Chilean politics of the 1970's, important alterations made between editions of these textbooks suggest that they remained sites of political struggle long after they were originally written.²⁴ In 1976,²⁵ Sergio Villalobos produced another four-volume History of Chile, thereby extended the life of Christian Democratic textbook history into the late 20th Century. Although his text did not follow Conservative explanations as outlined below, it was used in conjunction with Conservative histories of Chile during the 1980's in preparation for national university entrance exams.²⁶ In spite of the fact that Galdames, Frías and Villalobos expressed many ideas associated with Chilean liberal democracy, their textbooks were used extensively in Chilean classrooms under the right wing Pinochet dictatorship.

Marxist histories appeared in Chile during the early to mid 20th Century, but were consistently marginalized by the Conservative and Christian-Democratic schools. These histories only flourished for a short time in the 1950's and 1960's, and were cut short by the coup of 1973. Indeed, Luis Vitale's *Interpretación Marxista de la Historia de Chile*, the official history high school text endorsed by the Ministry of Education under Allende, never made it to the classroom. Vitale's Marxist history can be conceptualized as part of a larger initiative to change Chilean society from a capitalist to a socialist system. Like much of the other literature supporting Allende's Unidad Popular regime,²⁷ *Interpretación Marxista* was conceived by its author as part of a larger effort to "democratize" the Chilean educational system and to raise class-consciousness. In the prologue to Vitale's textbooks, Marxist historian Julio César Jobet clearly reiterates Vitale's political intention in writing that "[Vitale's] indispensable work is invested in the hope of the victory of the socialist revolution in Chile and America."²⁸ Jobet writes that *Interpretación Marxista* is "an account that uses the method of historical materialism in order to bring about the correct understanding of the national story,"²⁹ and to "unmask deceptive Christian Democracy."³⁰ *Interpretación Marxista* reflects the politics of the Allende regime, in setting itself against Christian Democratic history, and against the liberal democratic tradition it represented.

Although Christian Democratic textbooks were the most widely used during the 1960s and 1970s,³¹ the 1980's saw the advent of a Conservative hegemonic vision in Chilean historiography.³² In the early 1980's, Gonzalo Vial, as the Minister of Education under Pinochet,³³ revived the tradition of Conservative history textbook writing when he produced his exhaustive four-volume study of the Parliamentary Republic (1891-1925) and early 20th Century Chile for use in high schools and universities. This revisionist work, although building on earlier works of Conservative-nationalist educators such as Francisco Encina and Jaime Eyzaguirre,³⁴ marked a significant change in the direction of late 20th Century Chilean historical textbook

writing. Vial's textbook set out to explode materialist-scientific interpretations of Marxist and Christian Democratic Chilean history, and to reveal the "one truth... [that] of the historic facts."³⁵ His was a Conservative-nationalist interpretation of the Chilean past, in line with the belief structure of the Pinochet regime. The success of Vial's textbook was facilitated by the Conservative political climate of the 1970's and 1980's.³⁶

Divergent textbook accounts of Parliamentary Chile and the years that followed suggest different political visions are tied to conflicting national discourses and assumptions regarding the state, the definition of the national subject, and the trajectory of national development. In the 1970's and 1980's, the Pinochet regime sought to exclude or co-opt these different political visions by strictly re-defining the nation under a single Conservative rubric of "national reconciliation." To this end, differences among Conservative and Christian Democratic history textbooks were overshadowed by increased mimicry of Conservative-nationalist rhetoric. Overlap in the political messages and nationalist language of history textbooks, intensified by the explicit re-framing of textbook narratives, facilitated this process.

The Pinochet dictatorship provides a unique space within which official interpretations of the national past found expression in the nationalist rhetoric of school textbooks. Renato Cristi and Carlos Ruíz, in their article *Pensamiento Conservador en Chile (1903-1974)*,³⁷ argue that the political programs of the military junta were clearly expressed through Conservative-nationalist thought.³⁸ The Junta's vision of "national reconciliation" required a "waking up" of national consciousness,³⁹ and encouraged the transformation of national imagining along the lines of the military junta's political and nationalist ideology.⁴⁰ The politics of the Pinochet regime informed the expression of a particular kind of Chilean nationalism, based on such common themes as historical continuity, tradition, authority, and order.⁴¹ As such themes also characterize non-Conservative expressions of Chilean nationalism, Conservative nationalist rhetoric of the 1970's and 1980's must also be understood in light of its political use against Communism.⁴² The

national imagining of the junta, under the rubric of Conservative, Corporatist⁴³ and Neo-liberal⁴⁴ thought, was marked by its moralizing and religious rhetoric, its celebration of order, and its hostility towards Marxism.

Although Christian Democratic and Conservative history textbooks were united in support of Pinochet's Conservative vision of *Chilenidad*, they nevertheless expressed significant differences in their assumptions concerning the nation. The national narratives of Christian Democratic and Conservative texts present competing trajectories of 20th Century progress and decline. These divergent meta-narratives caused textbook writers to frame specific historical events differently. These two kinds of history textbooks do not necessarily agree on which historical actors were the most important. Likewise, authors and editors adopted different discourses in describing their national stories, drawing on moralistic, religious, or scientific-technical rhetoric in different places. At the same time, the differences between these school history texts were not so great as to interfere with the advancement of a single Conservative vision of the Chilean past.

Textbook literature dealing with the Parliamentary Republic (1891-1925) is a space wherein the contours of competing national stories are particularly pronounced. History textbooks from the 1960's to the 1980's trace the origins of 20th Century Chilean political, economic and social struggles back to the Parliamentary period. The first leaders of this era were the victors of the bloody Chilean Civil War (1891), fought between supporters of president Balmaceda and supporters of Congress over a number of issues surrounding the rights and limitations of executive power. These liberal parliamentarians thoroughly "democratised" the Chilean political system through the writing of a new constitution, which was intended to forestall any further abuses of executive authority. These political changes were accompanied by the arrival of new technological innovations that facilitated greater exploitation of Chile's

mineral resources. Economic and political progress encouraged the enthusiastic Chilean liberal elite to be optimistic about the future of the nation.

This new era in Chilean public life also brought with it a series of crises that increasingly began to overshadow any of the advances being made. Widespread political corruption, inflation and economic decline, increasing poverty, a widening gap between rich and poor, and an intensified conflict between labour and capital all served as points of contention among Conservatives, Liberals, Radicals, and (later) Marxists. In the minds of many early 20th Century social critics,⁴⁵ Chile was in a period of moral, as well as material, decline. These economic, political, social, and 'moral' issues remained unresolved for decades, and continued to be sources of intense debate well into the late 20th Century.

Political Orientation and Narrative Framing

Chilean history textbooks of the late 20th Century reflect these divisions over the causes of 20th Century national decline. Different interpretations of the 'origins' of national crisis were tied to conflicting political and nationalist visions. Christian Democratic analyses from the 1960's and 1970's tended to stress technical-scientific concerns, such as inefficiencies in the government regime, the devaluation of the peso, and Chile's dependency on exports. In contrast, Conservative explanations typically underlined "moral" issues, such as secularization, political corruption, and national unity. These interpretations shaped "national trajectories" (grand national narratives) as well as narratives of key historical events and actors.

Christian Democratic national histories, published before 1973, mirror liberal democratic optimism concerning the future of the Chilean nation. Thus, Luis Galdames admits that "the morality and health of the great masses of the people do not correspond to the prosperous state of other phases of national life,"⁴⁶ but maintains that this is not indicative of decline. Instead, he reassures his readers that progress may only "suffer critical moments from exhaustion or from

debauchery,”⁴⁷ but is ultimately assured. Christian Democratic meta-narratives located Parliamentary Chile (1891-1925) between two events: the ‘consolidation of the Oligarchy’ and the ‘rise of middle class reformers and social welfare.’ Frías’ coverage of Parliamentary Chile, for example, begins with the congressional anarchy of the post-civil war years and ends by alluding to the promise of the emerging bourgeois democratic state. He writes that, “[f]rom the moment the Oligarchy gained power... the social forces of the... rising middle class and proletarian worker began to take effect.”⁴⁸ Similarly, Sergio Villalobos claims that the end of the Parliamentary period marked “the victory without war, of the central bureaucratic state, based on principles of democratic-liberalism.”⁴⁹ Due to this particular framing of 20th Century Chilean history, reformers, Christian Democrats, teachers and bureaucrats are cast as leading actors. For Christian Democratic textbook writers, these middle class heroes embodied the hopes and potential of the nation. Frías implies that these new power groups were at the centre of a wider process of “profound economic and social transformations.”⁵⁰

The politics of Frías’ position is clear: like many other Christian Democratic textbook writers, he based his legitimacy as a Christian Democratic reformer upon this narrative framework. The political relevance of these Christian Democratic Historian-educators rested upon the continued celebration of this transition from the 19th Century liberal Oligarchy to the leadership of 20th Century populist reformers. Textbook authors had a personal stake in making the achievements of 20th Century reformers central to their narratives. The Christian Democratic framing of early 20th Century Chile defines the “social question” and labour radicalism in line with a centre-left politics of reform. In Christian Democratic narratives, the progress of the middle class and working class is contingent upon their advancement together. Christian Democratic writers linked the maturation of working class political consciousness to the expansion of public education in Chile.⁵¹ While the successes of the liberal democratic experiment were attributed to the rise of middle class leadership, working class actors were

assigned a passive, secondary role. Only in histories of the 1930's, when reformers (such as textbook writer Luis Galdames) began to address these issues, does the working class play a larger part in these textbook narratives. Labour plays no significant role in Christian Democratic accounts of the Parliamentary Republic. If these textbooks do mention labour unrest during this period, it is often emploted as a tragedy, mainly because no middle class reformer was able to mediate between warring classes.⁵² As the "battle of the classes" drama unfolds before the critical eye of the reader, the condition of working class agitators, and the incompetence of the Chilean liberal oligarchy of the period, is put on display. Galdames subverts working class voices by characterizing "the labour question" as non-revolutionary. He asserts that,

"[The labour question] has not been anything more than the confused, almost unconscious aspiration, natural to all men, to better their material and moral condition by increasing their incomes, gaining instruction, and procuring comfort and well being."⁵³

Galdames goes on to argue that education will de-radicalise Chilean labour, and that reason will prevail. In this manner, the reader is interpolated into a middle-class-reformist position, and is encouraged to join the Christian Democrats in their attack on both labour radicalism and oligarchic indifference.

Conservative Framing and Rhetoric

If the politics of Christian Democratic textbook narratives is revealed in the special role they assign to middle class populist reformers as facilitators of class harmony, Gonzalo Vial's Conservative vision of the 1980's depends on the trope of "moral crisis" to explain his national trajectory. The idea of "moral crisis" has always been a defining trope amongst Chilean nationalists of all persuasions. However, in the 1970's and 1980's, moral-nationalist rhetoric took on a Conservative flavour. The radical social critic Enrique MacIver first used it in Parliamentary political debates, but Conservative Historians such as Francisco Encina and

Jaime Eyzaguirre also made use of it in later years. The authoritarian President Ibáñez del Campo adopted it during his dictatorship in the 1920's, and again in the 1950's.⁵⁴ A similar moral rhetoric of nationhood was expressed through Chilean National Socialism in the 1930's, and most recently by the Pinochet dictatorship. A preoccupation with moral crisis was often accompanied by a call for a strengthened executive, and for a revival of a Conservative model of state rule based on the "Portalian" Constitution of 1833. Conservative nationalist rhetoric has consistently been mobilised against political corruption and institutional paralysis. Although Vial shared an interest with Christian Democratic textbook writers in the 'material' (economic, political, or class-related) causes of national crisis, his conception of the moral decline of the nation is at the centre of his historical explanations, superseding poverty, economic crisis, and labour agitation.

The idea of moral crisis is central to Gonzalo Vial's Conservative framing of the Chilean past. Vial writes that "between the two presidential suicides" of Balmaceda and Allende (1891 and 1973 respectively), the democratic experiment progressed, but was programmed to self-destruct.⁵⁵ His history of Chile is the tragic tale of a struggling democracy, which, through the folly of secularism, was led into a "spiritual vacuum" ("el vacío del alma"),⁵⁶ "social depression"⁵⁷ and national disintegration. His text is premised upon the assumption that the gains made during the Conservative Republic (1830-1891) were lost in the "moral crisis" and "anarchy" of the Parliamentary Period (1891-1925).⁵⁸ Vial holds that the roots of Chile's national degeneration lay in the secularisation of its institutions, society, and leadership.⁵⁹ He admits that inflation was a factor in causing civil unrest, but argues that "moral decline" and the rupture of national unity were the primary causes of violence and social disharmony.⁶⁰ Vial's history of turn-of-the-century and early 20th Century Chile pays particular attention to sexual immorality,⁶¹ to rampant prostitution,⁶² and to the dissolution of the family⁶³ as specific symptoms of national decline. According to Vial, this decline had entered the *patria* (country)

through the demoralization of its leadership, but the moral repercussions were experienced by the *campesinos* and working poor as well. Agrarian labourers had lost their identity through urbanisation and the shattering of their links with the landlords and the church.

In Chilean political life, Vial claims that moral corruption caused factional divisions to subsume “national interests.”⁶⁴ While Christian Democratic textbooks portray the political and social changes of the Parliamentary Republic as part of an imperfect but progressive step towards democracy, Vial sees it, in part, as a step backwards. Unlike the Christian Democratic textbook authors, he does not believe that the national crisis of Parliamentary Chile was corrected by the rise of middle-class reformism and the bureaucratic state. Unlike Frías, for whom the secular/religious debates of the Parliamentary Republic were insignificant events,⁶⁵ the secular turn is for Vial a pivotal point in the history of 20th Century Chile. National decline is, for him, an indication of the economic and moral ruin of the “human masses”, against which secular political programs were ineffective as a response.⁶⁶ Vial’s textbook portrays most of the 20th Century, from the Parliamentary Republic to the coup of 1973, as an extended experience of national and moral crisis. In doing so, he condemns not only the Marxists, but the Christian Democrats as well, as participants in failed, secular projects. Vial’s narrative of 20th Century decline is set directly against the Christian-Democratic story of progress.

Prior to the arrival of the Pinochet regime, the historical narratives of Christian Democratic textbook narratives were distinct from Conservative histories. While Gonzalo Vial emphasises the moral crisis brought on by ‘foreign’ secularism, late 20th Century Christian Democratic textbooks also cast 20th Century national crises as the fruit of scientific errors, where the legal and social structures of the Chilean state awaited ‘rationalisation’. Likewise, their accounts differ radically concerning the ‘successes’ of the mid-20th Century bureaucratic state as a secular-scientific response to 20th Century problems. Whereas Vial’s position predisposes him to read “decline” into 20th Century Chilean history, Francisco Silva, co-author of *Historia de*

Chile (volume 4) with Sergio Villalobos, maintains an optimistic and “evolutionary” perspective.⁶⁷ Silva writes the tragedy of 1973 into a survival narrative; his claims are worth quoting at length,

“... The passing of the [‘]statute of guarantees[‘] pressured for the modification of positivist constitutional law in order to serve the goal of Marxism, but this wasn’t able to take place... thanks to the... application of the respected principles of democratic liberalism.”⁶⁸

Instead of dwelling on the virtue of Chile’s armed forces, Silva credits the strength of Chile’s democratic institutions with the demise of Allende’s attempted “revolution in liberty.” He represents the senate’s opposition to Allende’s efforts as a triumph for Democracy. He does not mention the military coup that followed shortly afterwards, possibly because a coup is hardly evidence of the success of the Chilean democratic system. Unlike Vial, Silva does not preoccupy the reader only with ‘moral’ causes of national crisis and disintegration, but instead, relies more often on material-scientific explanation in ascribing cause, effect and agency to Chilean history. He argues that economic realities had an enormous effect on Chilean life by placing limits on social reform⁶⁹ and “[changing] dramatically the life of the workers.”⁷⁰ At the same time, although Villalobos is critical of the anti-modern sentiment behind “moral crisis” rhetoric, his textbook still makes use of this trope. He argues that Chile’s economic health was directly related to the “vices,” “sicknesses,” “alcoholism,” “pessimism,” and “moral degradation” of the poor.⁷¹ Thus, although different political orientations helped produce distinct national narratives in Christian Democratic and Conservative textbooks, the greatest distinction between the use of nationalist rhetoric by Christian Democrats and Conservative history textbook writers is of degree rather than of kind. Gonzalo Vial’s textbook emphasises moral explanation and moral rhetoric to a greater extent than the textbooks of his contemporaries.

Although Christian Democratic textbooks writers commonly used the trope of “moral crisis” in the early 20th Century, this moral rhetoric became overshadowed by the ‘scientific’ discourse of Christian Democratic textbooks in the 1950’s and 1960’s. Thus, later editions of Galdames’ history refer less often to morality than does his 1941 text. However, this latent discourse was revived following the coup of 1973. In the 1974 and 1976 versions of Galdames and Frías’ textbooks, references to “moral crisis” become more frequent and optimistic assumptions about national progress become less apparent. This shift in Christian Democratic textbooks to stress moral crisis was facilitated, in part, by the fact that Conservative and Christian Democratic nationalist visions had much in common. This is because their historical narratives were premised on “previous understandings”⁷² concerning the nation. Conservative and Christian Democratic textbook writers shared assumptions regarding the construction of Chilean national identity that informed the similarities between their histories.

Nationalist mythologies were common to all historical polemics, including those expressed by Marxists. In a speech before congress, Allende claimed that his government sought the national “path” based on “nature, tradition and history,”⁷³ and was “guided by a deep patriotic sense, which hirelings have attempted to deny.” In spite of his commitments to revolutionary change in Chile, Allende was extremely careful to place himself and his government within the nation:

“It is not easy to change the way of life of a people. And in saying this *I do not forsake Chile’s past*. I am well aware that at each age and in each piece of our history there were men who even though they did not have our ideas, did much in order to strengthen the bonds which gave form and continuity to *our nation* [italics mine].”⁷⁴

Furthermore, Allendes Unidad Popular party declared that “[we are] standing with Lautaro and Caupulicán, distant brothers [indigenous historical figures from the 16th Century]... [and with] Bernardo O’Higgins [the first president of Chile] in moving towards economic independence.”⁷⁵

In a nationalist language similar to their Conservative or Christian Democratic political opponents, the Allende government goes on to express its solidarity with other 19th Century national heroes, stopping only at the 20th Century, where Marxists and non-Marxist Chileans held to a different lineage of national heroes. Indeed, Julio César Jobet, Chile's most influential Marxist Historian of the mid- 20th Century, was concerned with the same issues as his Conservative and Christian Democratic opponents, namely "national" or "moral decline" and "backwardness."⁷⁶ Thus, Chilean socialists and Marxists shared certain assumptions about the nation with their Christian Democratic and right wing contemporaries, and used similar nationalist discourses in support of their own political positions.

Although Conservative, Christian Democratic and Marxists used much of the same nationalist terminology, they often applied this rhetoric to different political ends. Consequently, one shouldn't overemphasize the significance of political-party platforms,⁷⁷ nor confuse rhetoric with meaning. Political and nationalist discourses are contested spaces, and similarities between regime discourses are often superficial.⁷⁸ Thus, "democratization" meant the expansion of the state to Christian Democrats like Eduardo Frei, popular decision-making to Marxists such as Salvador Allende, and the de-politicization of society to supporters of Pinochet's regime. Similarly, "moral crisis" and "national decline", although central tropes in all 20th Century Chilean national narratives, held different meanings for Conservatives, Christian Democrats, and Marxists. Those distinct meanings were expressed through political orientation.

However, a common nationalist rhetoric between Conservative and Christian Democratic textbooks, along with significant revisions made between the 1969 and 1974 versions of Frías' textbook, and the 1969 and 1976 versions of Galdames' textbooks, explain why Christian Democratic history texts of the 1970's moved towards a more Conservative vision of the nation. Although they were distinct, I posit that an increased use of moral rhetoric among certain textbook histories published after 1973 marks an increased proximity among Christian

Democratic texts to a Conservative political vision of the nation. This interpretation is supported not only by the fact that Christian Democratic and Conservative textbook authors and editors increasingly expressed the same rhetoric, but also by the ways in which they used nationalist discourses. After 1973, both the right and the political centre mobilized nationalist rhetoric in a common polemic with a specific political goal: the solidification of support for the military junta and the mobilization of opinion against their real or imagined Marxist opponents.

Enemies of the *Patria*

Among Conservative and Christian Democratic texts, the 19th Century oligarchy and the extreme left are commonly constructed as enemies of the nation. Galdames blames the political corruptive influence of oligarchic and absentee landowners for the vices of the “common Chilean.”⁷⁹ He writes that the “deplorable situation” brought on by political corruption “reacted harshly on civic spirit,”⁸⁰ as if “the people” passively reflect the actions and decisions of its leaders. Similarly, according to Silva, neither public authorities nor employers took care of growing social problems through teaching, religion, or hospitals.⁸¹ Clearly, the 19th Century oligarchy was ill positioned to bring the proletariat within the national fold, and thus, inevitably, “the agitation of the masses continued.”⁸² Frías is also highly critical of the failures of the irresponsible liberal oligarchy. He blames rising class conflict on the failure of the state to intervene and effectively improve the lives of the working poor or to mediate between the interests of labour and capital.⁸³ Thus, Christian-Democratic narratives of the events of Parliamentary Chile hinge on the failures of the Chilean oligarchy; Christian Democratic texts highlight the achievements of the heroes of 20th Century Chile, middle-class reformers and the (non-revolutionary) working classes against oligarchic opponents of the national good. But, in 1976, the focus of these Christian Democratic textbooks is less on the failures of the oligarchy as it is on the threat of revolutionary Marxism.

For earlier Christian Democratic textbook authors, the nation had included Chilean socialists and Marxists. After 1973, this Christian Democratic idea of the nation was re-framed, with Marxists and Marxism increasingly excised from its confines, and the moral nature of political, social and economic conflict emphasized. This marriage of Conservative nationalism and history textbook writing was part of a larger hegemonic process that became increasingly pronounced through the late 1970's and 1980's. The 'outlawing' of Marxist historical actors and voices reflects a polarization between narrowly defined forms of acceptable or unacceptable historical and nationalist thought. The dominant expression of national imagining and political orientation during the 1970's and 1980's was defined in opposition to Marxist assumptions about the nation and political vision of the future. Marxist forms of national imagining were in conflict with both Christian Democratic and Conservative historical meta-narratives.

Luis Vitale, author of *Interpretación Marxista de la Historia de Chile*, situates the parliamentary period between the collapse of the old bourgeoisie and the rise of the new elite⁸⁴ in the guise of 'popular' leaders. *Interpretación Marxista* gives different titles to parliamentary reformers and critics. Instead of describing them as "progressives" or "democrats", Vitale portrays this middle class group as representatives of the "new industrial Bourgeoisie,"⁸⁵ intent on manipulating the growing electorate to their own ends. This shift in terminology delegitimizes the very political project on which the Christian-Democratic Historians based their *patria*. Due to this difference in framing, the political crises of this period are cast in a completely different light. The struggles among the political elite, covered extensively by the Christian-Democrats, receive little attention in Vitale's narrative. His history focuses instead on the increasing mobilization of the working class and labour unrest as pre-cursors to the 'real' story of 20th Century Chilean history: the rise of the Chilean Communist Party and the working class as representatives of the nation.

According to Vitale, social inequality and class struggle caused national crisis. Class relations and the reproduction of capitalist social structures, not the frustrated efforts of Chilean politicians, provide a unified story across Chilean history.⁸⁶ The framing of Marxist history contradicts both Conservative and Christian Democratic models, as the Marxist history of Latin America is “a history of a frustrated democratic-bourgeois revolution.”⁸⁷ Thus Vitale consciously sets himself against traditional Christian Democratic arguments for historical progress.⁸⁸ Unlike the Christian-Democrats, Vitale is not telling the story of the ‘struggles and successes’ of 20th Century reformers. Individuals among the elite contribute little to a Marxist Chile, except as sources of reaction, or as examples of the failure of Bourgeoisie democracy. It is little wonder that Christian Democratic and Conservative textbook authors found common ground in their response to Marxism.

Conservative and Christian Democratic Responses to Marxism

Conservative theorists consistently blame Marxists and outside agitators (Lira and Menéndez refer to them as “Marxist criminals”⁸⁹ and “witches of ignorance”⁹⁰) for the breakdown of order and political agreement. A similar anti-Marxist rhetoric is embedded in *Proclamation Number 5* of the Junta (September 11, 1973), as well as in its defense by the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs in front of the United Nations (October 9, 1973). *Proclamation Number 5* claims that the Allende government “broke national unity” and “encouraged (artificially) a class war.”⁹¹ Thus, it sets Marxists firmly outside the nation and defines class struggle as “different to *our* [Chilean] recognized ways of thinking and behaviour [*italics mine*].” In opposition to Marxism, the Junta acts by “the will of the great majority of the Nation... in the face of God and History...” in order to avoid “a dissolution of the very essence of the Nation.”⁹² Likewise, the “foreigner/ imperialist” trope is crucial to Conservative nationalist identity, where the “foreign yoke”⁹³ stands in moral opposition to the virtue of national freedom.

The kind of nationalism expressed in Conservative and Christian Democratic textbooks both before and after 1973 is also characteristically anti-Marxist. Christian Democrats appear to have been just as opposed to Revolutionary Marxism as Conservatives. Eduardo Frei, archetypal Christian Democrat and president of the senate (in 1973), was a fierce opponent of Allende's *Unidad Popular* government. He appealed to "the people" and "to history," against Allende's "people", whom he claims were a minority.⁹⁴ In a similar fashion, Christian Democratic textbooks become increasingly allied with the Military Junta and its opposition to Marxism. In the 1969 version of his textbook, Frías attempts to subvert Marxist discourse on the social question, not by avoiding phrases like "class struggle", but by changing the significance of this terminology. Frías depicts early 20th Century strikes and labour unrest in a manner that opposes Marxist narratives of class conflict. He claims that the "working masses lacked political maturity" in the early 20th Century,⁹⁵ reserving their place as political actors within and through the middle class democratic state, the only 'legitimate' expression of Chilean voices (from a Christian Democratic perspective). In his 1969 version, Marxist revolutionaries are silenced.

Whereas, in the 1969 version of his text, Frías blames the oligarchy for inciting the battle of the classes,⁹⁶ Francisco Silva (1976) also blames increases in worker anarchism and syndicalism on Spanish immigrant workers.⁹⁷ Silva's history is grounded firmly within the Christian Democratic school of historical writing. Yet a fierce opposition to Marxist revolution and a support for order allies Silva and Villalobos with Vial's nationalism. Frías' and Galdames' texts, though re-published (1974 and 1976 respectively) before Vial began to publish his *Historia de Chile* (1982), also share a similar hostility to Marxism.

Anti-Marxism was a key ingredient that allowed for the cohabitation of these two different historical interpretations. In contrast with Vitale's accusation of class "genocide,"⁹⁸ Vial downplays the severity of government repression of worker strikes, writing that "*The suffering used violence against society and society responded with repression [italics mine]*."⁹⁹

This one sentence reveals the characteristics of his conservative politics; he refers to the working poor as “the suffering” and places them outside of and in opposition to “society”. However, by rejecting the notion of class conflict, he avoids admitting to the existence of “natural” or “legitimate” reasons for national disunity, and either spreads the blame for violence and unrest equally among all Chileans or blames outsiders.

In opposition to the Marxists, Vial denies the very existence of class conflict in Chile, arguing that the national crises of the 20th Century have little to do with the social structure or economic relations of the country.¹⁰⁰ In refusing to adopt the discourse of his Marxist opponents, Vial consciously blurs the distinctions between Chileans. Instead of dividing Chileans along class lines, Vial represents competing interest groups as part of the same national family. The metaphor of the family, held together by moral, rather than rational-legal ties,¹⁰¹ is central to Conservative national imagining. Menéndez reiterates this ideology, whereby Chile, incarnate in “blood and land,”¹⁰² is expressed through both the Araucanian Indian warrior and the Spanish Conquistador, turning warring enemies into national brothers.¹⁰³ While Marxist writers tend to define the national subject in terms of class,¹⁰⁴ for Osvaldo Lira, a Chilean philosopher and an architect of Conservative national imagining, the family constitutes the fundamental cell and social organism of the Chilean nation.¹⁰⁵ This harmonization of conflicting interest groups within a larger national family unit recalls Benedict Anderson’s notion of the “reassurance of fratricide,”¹⁰⁶ by which co-nationals imagine past conflicts within the boundaries of a family dispute. Revolutionary Marxism, as a “foreign” ideology, plays no role in Vial’s understanding of “Chilean” labour disputes. There are no true enemies within the Conservative national family; the enemies of the nation are secularism and Marxism, which divide the country.

Post 1973: Re-framing Anti-Marxism in Christian Democratic Textbooks

Much like Gonzalo Vial, Frías helps rewrite crises of the later 20th Century using tropes derived from narratives of the Parliamentary Republic. While in the 1969 version of his text, Frías admits that the poor leadership of the oligarchy aggravated the social question, and thus gave rise to the battle of the classes,¹⁰⁷ the 1974 version blames outsiders for instigating this ‘unchilean’ conflict.¹⁰⁸ Just as in earlier versions of his text, where Frías sought to solidify his own position as a reform-minded educator by placing the oligarchy outside the progress of *Chilenidad*, in 1974 his textbook treats Eduardo Frei’s left wing reformers and Allende’s Marxists in a similar fashion. Much like his depiction of the oligarchic leaders of Parliamentary Chile, Frías writes that left-wing democrat Eduardo Frei and Marxist Salvador Allende were elected because of their personal prestige and not due to their political platforms.¹⁰⁹ This argument places these leaders outside the Patria, with whom they had apparently ‘lost touch’. Frías claims that left wing programs lacked popular support draws his textbook closer to Vial’s position that Chilean political parties of the later 20th Century governments attempted to take Chile away from *la vía Chilena* (the Chilean path). At the same time, it asserts that Chilean democracy declined due to the wiles of Marxist conspirators.¹¹⁰

Frías’ 1969 textbook blames a lack of consensus and moral authority for every national failing, and constructs the enemy on the margins of the imagined nation. Thus, in spite of evidence of material and social progress achieved by left wing governments in the mid- 20th Century,¹¹¹ he concludes that these governments allowed Marxism to flourish, and ultimately undermined the national good. Frías’ textbook implies that Chileans became enemies through the infection of politicisation and through the intrusion of “foreign” ideologies. Although earlier Christian Democratic textbooks attempt to include Marxist voices in Chilean history, post 1973 versions of Frías’ and Galdames’ textbooks adopt a more hostile stance towards Marxism and a more positive attitude towards government-led political repression. The 1969 version of Frías’

text claims that democratic reformism declined due to a loss of popular support. In contrast, the 1974 version goes further, blaming Marxist conspirators for undermining Christian Democracy and for radicalising the political landscape.¹¹² The 1974 version of Frías' text asserts that the law of "facultades especiales", which outlawed Marxist political organisation from 1948 to 1958, was necessary to ensure public order.¹¹³ In addition, unlike the 1969 version of his textbook, Frías' 1974 textbook laments the repeal of this law (in 1958), and argues that this action was partly responsible for the collapse of the Chilean State in 1973.¹¹⁴ Likewise, it argues that the democratisation of Chilean society was, in part, complicit in aiding the advance of "infectious Marxism."¹¹⁵

Conservative and Christian Democratic textbooks from the 1970's-1980's suggest both an increasing homogenization of political vision and national imagining and a polarization of narratives of Chilean identity. Both textbook traditions construct oligarchs and Marxists as enemies of the patria. The repositioning of certain Christian Democratic textbooks after 1973 narrowed their ideological distance from Conservative national imagining. On top of their mutual opposition to Marxism, Christian Democratic and Conservative textbooks express similarities in their commitment to political order.

Commitment to Order

From a Conservative standpoint, it was the role of the state to "harmonize the hopes of each group in society with the national interest."¹¹⁶ The nation was embodied in the armed forces, which are the purest physical representation of national spirit.¹¹⁷ Conservative Chilean nationalists also subscribed to an idea of order and political harmony that often appeared undemocratic to their opponents. Conservative Chileans usually interpreted incidents of political or ideological disagreement among Chileans as indicators of a 'rise in anarchy'. Thus, those elements of Parliamentary Chilean that were "democratic" for Luis Moulian¹¹⁸ were "anarchic"

for Vial.¹¹⁹ Christian Democratic and Conservative textbooks of the 1970's and 1980's both share this commitment to political order. Their opposition to political anarchy and revolution illustrates it. They both attack the parliamentary oligarchy because of the anarchy it brought to Chilean political life at the turn-of-the-century, as well as Marxist revolutionaries for their effect on Chilean politics in later years. In each of these textbooks, the answer to these destabilizing influences is trusted to nationalism, and its role in harmonizing the nation.

The omission or inclusion of content, and the 're-wording' of events between pre and post 1973 versions of Christian Democratic texts reveal a transition in the political orientation of the textbooks, although not of the authors.¹²⁰ In spite of the fact that these versions display the names of the original authors, it is safe to say that changes made to these post-coup editions are the product of editors (whose names are not mentioned). Thus, authorship is shared between authors and editors. It is the Christian Democratic textbooks, not the authors themselves, which became more right wing. These textbooks mark significant changes in the political commitments of Christian Democratic histories, irrespective of the political orientation of the original authors.

Some of the most prominent alterations in content can be found between editions of Luis Galdames' *Historia de Chile*. In contrast with editions used in 1950's and 1960's (which display only minor changes), Galdames' 1974 (post coup) edition indicates significant additions and absences. The 1950 version reads, "Other police actions perpetrated by agents of the government *against freedom of expression* increased the unpopularity of the government [italics mine]."¹²¹ This is absent from the 1974 version. The 1950 version also includes a section on social justice,¹²² notes that radicals and communists continued to increase in number, and describes Chile as a land of non-violence and class harmony.¹²³ Although the text surrounding each of these sections was unaltered, these parts were conspicuously absent from the 1974 edition. It is not difficult to see how they may otherwise have been used to compromise the Junta's position on the illegality of Communism, and on its commitment to political repression in

the name of national defense. In place of these absences, nine paragraphs were added to the 1974 version concerning the virtues of the Chilean military and police force.¹²⁴ The lesson aim of these new sections on Chilean military virtue was also reflected in classroom practices of the 1970's and 1980's. Through a weekly homage to the flag¹²⁵ and through a generally positive representation of the historical role of the Chilean Military in school curriculum, official Chilean nationalism of the 1970's and 1980's took on a distinctly Conservative flavour. The influence of changing regime politics was evident in both textbooks and the classroom.

Through revision, Galdames' history textbook became increasingly complicit with the values of the Pinochet regime. In 1950 version of his text describes a confrontation between socialist students and the police in northern Chile in the 1940's as a "massacre."¹²⁶ The 1974 version states that the students "lost their lives in front of the forces of order."¹²⁷ Likewise, the 1950 version of Galdames' text reveals that leftists, until 1941, had been severely "controlled" by the "parties of the right."¹²⁸ Due (possibly) to the anxiety that such behaviour might be construed as excessive or undemocratic, editors of the 1974 version softened the previous sentence, and gave "the parties of the right" a more legitimate sounding title by claiming that leftists were "supervised" by the "traditional parties."¹²⁹ At the same time, it appears that the word "traditional"¹³⁰ was removed in places from the 1974 edition. One reason for this could be that the editors did not wish to associate tradition, as exemplified by the Chilean military, with reactionary or less-progressive agents in Chilean history. In the 1950 version of Galdames' text, for example, those whom he termed the "traditionalist coalition" were agitating against the efforts of Aguirre Cerda's 'progressive' Popular Front. Understandably, then, editors of the 1974 version opted for calling their opponents the "coalición-opositora" rather than the "traditional coalition."¹³¹

The transition of Christian Democratic textbooks towards a more Conservative national vision is also illustrated by changes made between editions of Frías' *Manual de Historia de*

Chile. Frías, in the 1969 version of his textbook, reasons that a degree of government intervention in the national economy could have stemmed the detrimental effects of foreign exploitation of the Chilean economy. However, in line with the Neo-liberalism of post-1973 Chile, the 1974 version of this text remarks that government intervention in the Chilean economy was a mistake.¹³² Moreover, in the 1969 version of Frías' textbook, he argues that the Populist, Reformist, and Christian Democratic administrations of the Mid 20th Century had been unable to curb inflation, and that this was at the root of their demise and of the weakening of democracy in Chile as a whole. The 1974 version of the text goes further, however, arguing that this inability to control inflation stemmed not so much from economic difficulties, but from *a lack of moral authority* and national solidarity in leadership. Chilean governments were ineffective because they could not command enough moral authority.¹³³ By inference, this role fell to the military junta, with its 'apolitical' nature and its 'sincere love of the patria.'

In Chilean history textbooks, dominant narratives subverted less significant ones,¹³⁴ and certain events were made to disappear, while others were brought forward. By placing the Parliamentary Republic within a 20th Century narrative that includes the crisis of 1973, new events are fit into pre-existing chronological frameworks. At the same time, earlier historical events (such as violent strikes or the emergence of Chilean Marxists) take on new significance. The 1976 version of Frías textbook¹³⁵ reiterates the Junta's position on the illegality of the Allende regime,¹³⁶ and reinforces the claim that military intervention was both necessary and good, as it helped avert civil war.¹³⁷ After 1973, Frías' textbook also becomes more critical of Christian Democratic answers to national problems. Whereas the 1969 version of this text celebrates the rise of the bureaucratic state and the implementation of social legislation as key indicators of the progress of the nation, the 1974 version laments that these developments also created a new privileged minority (of bureaucratic officials) and opened up new areas of civil society to politicization.¹³⁸ Similarly, while the 1969 version of Frías' text focuses on the "facts"

of legal and administrative weakness in parliamentary government,¹³⁹ the 1974 version takes this analysis further, proposing that the failures of subsequent reformist governments were more than legal in nature, that they were also moral, and were related to the disintegration of the nation. This shifting portrayal of the weaknesses of Chilean democracy is complemented by a celebration of the “achievements” of the military regime, in its role as ‘guardian of democracy.’ Military intervention is portrayed, not simply as a reaction to Marxist revolution, but as return to the reformist path of earlier years, and as a progressive step towards true national progress.¹⁴⁰ After the crisis of 1973, the military begins to move into the centre of Chilean historical narratives. The virtues of ‘peace and order’ over ‘freedom of expression’ become more evident. Past incidents of government repression are recast with greater sympathy towards authorities, and words like “traditional” take on new meanings. The connection between post 1973 ideological commitments and the revisions of Frías’ and Galdames’ textbooks is more than speculative: both of these rely heavily upon Pinochet’s *The White Book of the Change of Government in Chile* and on his government’s *Declaration of Principles* as key sources. The Junta’s reappraisal of 20th Century Chilean history, through the mediation of textbook editors, influenced the narrative framework of Christian Democratic textbooks in the 1970’s.

Conclusion: The Politics of National Imagining and Thinking Historically

From the 1960’s to the 1980’s, Chilean school history textbooks were sites of hegemonic struggle and cultural politics. In the 1960’s, the competing political orientations of textbook authors interacted with common assumptions about the nation to produce distinct national histories. Marxist, Christian Democratic and Conservative textbook writers and editors drew on similar nationalist tropes, but infused them with different meanings and fit them into divergent “national trajectories” and political agendas. Under the Pinochet regime, a single, unified narrative of Chile’s past came to predominate. By the early 1970’s, Marxism was eliminated as

a viable form of national imagining, and, by the 1980's, the national narratives of Christian Democratic and Conservative textbooks had become fused into a single hegemonic project. In spite of the divergent national narratives of the pre-1973 period, enough continuity existed among certain textbooks to facilitate the dominance of a Conservative national vision.

Conservative and Christian Democratic textbooks were united through the political application of their nationalist rhetoric. After 1973, these textbooks were equally hostile to the 'enemies' of the patria, particularly as represented by revolutionary Marxism. In Christian Democratic textbooks, the insurgents and revolutionaries who had previously been written into the nation, although at its margins, were increasingly placed outside the *patria* and *la vía Chilena*. At the same time, the "forces of order" were increasingly portrayed as key to the health of the nation. A shared rhetoric, together with significant changes to certain Christian Democratic textbooks, served as the basis for the rewriting of nationalist histories into a single Conservative national story.

Despite this consensus in textbook representations of national history in the 1970's and 1980's, Chileans today are deeply divided over their recent past. While many condemn the abuses that characterized the Pinochet regime, others continue to subscribe to a Conservative political ideology and national narrative. In an effort to reconcile these estranged communities of memory, Cristián Gazmuri proposes that Chilean school history textbooks be re-written. Gazmuri desires that these textbooks castigate the left of the 1960's and 1970's for irresponsibly destabilizing the nation, while criticizing the right for abusing its position as guardian of the nation. The overall goal of his political compromise is to create a national narrative that recognizes the existence of faults in all political camps. Although Gazmuri's suggestion might provide a way of moving forward for Chileans, I do not think that such changes go far enough. My reading of Chilean history textbooks from the 1960's-1980's suggests that it would be more

beneficial to teach Chilean school children how to adopt a more critical position towards the use of nationalist rhetoric, than to simply to internalize a new national narrative.

The invention of more inclusive national myths for students of Chilean history will not equip them with the tools necessary to come to grips with recent abuses of Chilean nationalism. Unlike critical historical thinking, civic myth making socializes students without enabling them to question conventional beliefs.¹⁴¹ The exclusive teleology¹⁴² of myth-history silences, neglects, and distorts competing narratives,¹⁴³ without facilitating any kind of lasting reconciliation between communities of memory in the present. At the same time, in countering a politics of memory, historian-educators should not feel the need to dismantle nationalist beliefs altogether. Indeed, this might prove an impossible or undesirable task. Instead, student awareness concerning the political use of nationalist beliefs is of more immediate concern than deconstructing nationalist history. Textbooks should cultivate an awareness of the susceptibility of such tropes as “moral crisis,” “foreigner-imperialist,” “national security,” “defense of democracy,” and “national family,” to the abuses of interested power groups, without necessarily requiring Chilean students to adopt a hostile or suspicious attitude toward their own national beliefs. This approach will help students realize how the use of shared nationalist discourses as political weapons has caused ideological polarization in Chilean society.

¹ On April 25, 1990, the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission was formed in order to address what the Justice Ministry termed “the most serious human rights violations” committed by the state of Chile during military rule. This was directed by attorney Paul Rettig, towards verifying accusations against the Pinochet Government concerning executions, disappearances and death resulting from torture and political violence. The commission had no judicial power, and those responsible for human rights violations were protected by a 1978 Amnesty Law. However, it was successful in pressuring the military to reveal the location of a number of graves. Numerous public commemorations followed, involving a second burial and funeral for former president Salvador Allende on September 4th, 1990, and the erection of a memorial to the disappeared and executed at the Santiago General Cemetery on September 9th, 1990. “Santiago Times Archive for 1990,” *Derechos Chile; ChipTravel Chile Information Project*, © 2002 [website]; available from http://www.santiagotimes.cl/derechos/1990_eng.html; Internet; accessed 1 April, 2003.

² October 17th, 1998.

³ Cristián Gazmuri, "¿La verdadera vía de reconciliación: Es posible estudiar y enseñar con objetividad la historia reciente de Chile?," *La Tercera*, May 31, 2000. All translations are the work of the author unless otherwise stated.

⁴ Kathleen B. Fisher, *Political Ideology and Educational Reform in Chile, 1964-1976* (California: UCLA Latin American Centre, 1979). These titles are the names of political platforms.

⁵ Luis Vitale et al., ed., *Para Recuperar la Memoria Histórica: Frei, Allende y Pinochet* (Santiago: Ediciones Chile-America – CESOC, 1999), 43.

⁶ An author's political commitments may invoke different national narratives, while these narratives structure or re-structure the political lessons of school textbooks.

⁷ Richard L. Venezky, "Textbooks in School and Society", in *Handbook of Research on Curriculum*, ed. Philip W. Jackson (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 446.

⁸ Suzanne De Castell, Allan Luke and Carmen Luke ed., *Language, Authority and Criticism: Readings on the School Textbook* (New York: Falmer Press, 1989), 63.

⁹ In the case of Galdames' text, his death in 1941 meant that newer editions were to be revised and edited by others. Galdames did not write the most significant changes between these editions.

¹⁰ Apple, *The Politics of the Textbook*, 7.

¹¹ Nick Taylor, ed., *Inventing Knowledge: Contests in Curriculum Construction* (South Africa: Maskew Miller, Longman, 1993), 8.

¹² See Taylor, who builds on the assertion that the curriculum (and textbooks) illustrate the unstable relationship between public schools, universities, government, and corporations (10), and that class, professional, and other competing interests influence the reproduction of official knowledge (9). In his article "History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System: The Portrayal of the Arab Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948-2000)" (*History and Memory* 12.1, 2000), Elie Podeh, using the case of Israeli school history textbooks, posits a similar relationship between official texts, historiography, Historians, education officials, and Zeitgeist (the spirit of the times). He argues that each of these played a part in influencing the form and content of school texts and that they are reflective of various political and ideological commitments (66).

¹³ Apple, "Education, culture, and class power: Basil Bernstein and the neo-Marxist sociology of education," *Educational Theory* 42; no.2 (Spring, 1992): 135.

¹⁴ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 152-153.

¹⁵ Venezky, 439.

¹⁶ In "The Grand Narrative and Its Discontents: Ukraine in Russian History Textbooks and Ukrainian Student's Minds, 1830's-1900's," in Andreas Kappeler, Zenon E. Kohut, Frank E. Sysyn, and Mark von Hagen, ed., *Culture, Nation and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter (1600-1945)*, (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2003), 229-56, Serhy Ykelchuk compares Russian Imperial history textbooks of the late 19th Century with student memoirs. He argues that, given certain disparities between textbook content and student beliefs, textbooks may not, in fact, be good indicators of national or social memory.

¹⁷ James Wertsch, "Is it possible to teach beliefs, as well as knowledge about history?" in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, in ed. P. Stearns, P. Seixas, & S. Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 40-41.

¹⁸ This does not concern hegemony in terms of class dominance (in the Gramscian sense).

¹⁹ Luis Moulian, "Balance Historiográfico sobre los últimos 30 años de la Historia de Chile," in Vitale et al., *Para recuperar la memoria histórica* (Santiago: ChileAmerica CESOC, 1999), Luis Moulian uses the term "Mesohistoric" to describe this school of historical thought. The term "Christian-Democratic" will be adopted for the sake of clarity, though at the risk of oversimplification.

²⁰ Eduardo Deves Valdes, "El Pensamiento en Chile 1950-1973: Ideas Políticas," in *El pensamiento chileno en el siglo XX*, ed. Eduardo Deves et al. (Santiago: Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, 1999), 11. Deves claims that Christian Democratic textbooks were informed by a combination of nationalism, egalitarianism, anti-clericalism, and rationalism, and were marked by a strict attention to chronology and an avoidance of "theory" or "interpretation".

²¹ These textbook authors often had a great influence on each other. Frías relies heavily on Galdames. See Francisco Frías Valenzuela, *Manual de Historia de Chile*, 2nd Illus. ed. (Santiago: Editorial Nacimiento, 1969), 450.

²² Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism and the Rise of the Middle Class* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 203.

²³ The first version of Galdames' textbook was published in 1906.

²⁴ Interestingly, the most pronounced changes to these texts occurred following the coup of 1973, reflecting a connection to regime politics.

²⁵ For our purposes, we will focus on the fourth volume of this series, written by Francisco Silva V.

²⁶ Inscription at the start of volume four (1982) reads, "Declarado material Didacto y/o de Consulta de la Educación Chilena por Resolución No 3.331, de 1 de Octubre de 1980."

²⁷ Fisher, 88.

²⁸ "Es un obra de indispensable manejo, para quienes anhelamos la victoria de la revolución socialista en Chile y en América." Luis Vitale, *Interpretación marxista de la historia de Chile* (Santiago: Prensa Latinoamericana, 1967), 20.

²⁹ "En cuanto a la utilización del método del materialismo histórico para lograr la correcta comprensión del devenir nacional." Vitale, *Interpretación Marxista*, 7.

³⁰ "...desenmascarar el papel mistificador de la Democracia Cristiana." Vitale, *Interpretación Marxista*, 8.

³¹ Two earlier works of the Conservative school, namely Francisco Encina's exhaustive work, and Jaime Eyzaguirre's more accessible *Historia de Chile* were still in use prior to the 1980's, but had become rather dated. The latest edition of Eyzaguirre's history was published in 1973.

³² Luis Moulian in Vitale, *Para Recuperar la Memoria Histórica*, 53.

³³ Vial became minister of education in 1978 (See Luis Moulian, "Balance Historiográfico," in Vitale et al. *Para recuperar la memoria histórica*, 57).

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- ³⁴ Gonzalo Vial dedicated his history to the memory of Jaime Eyzaguirre.
- ³⁵ "Cree que existe una verdad, y una sola, en los hechos pasados y que su papel es descubrirla y exponerla." Gonzalo Vial Correa. *Historia de Chile, 1891-1973*, 5 vols. (Santiago: Editorial Santillana, 1981-86), 10.
- ³⁶ Vial helped to write the White Book (see Moulian, 56).
- ³⁷ In Eduardo Deves et al, ed., *Pensamiento Chileno*, 81.
- ³⁸ I will refer to the military government at times as the "junta".
- ³⁹ "Nuestra misión es sólo despertarla." Enrique Campos Menéndez, "Las Perspectivas del Nacionalismo," in *Pensamiento Nacionalista*, ed. Alberto Arce Eberhard and Enrique Campos Menéndez (Santiago: Editora Nacional Gabriel Mistral, 1974), 9.
- ⁴⁰ Menéndez, 18.
- ⁴¹ "En torno a conceptos como continuidad histórica, tradición, autoridad, orden y estado nacional este cuerpo de ideas alcanza una relativa homogeneidad." Cristi, Renato and Ruíz, Carlos, "Pensamiento Conservador en Chile (1903-1974)," in *El pensamiento chileno en el siglo XX*, ed. Eduardo Deves et al. (Santiago: Ministerio Secretaria General de Gobierno, 1999), 81.
- ⁴² "...en contra de la democracia liberal, el socialismo y particularmente después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, en contra del comunismo y el humanismo Cristiano." Cristi and Ruíz, 82.
- ⁴³ "...una línea nacionalista, que favorece una sistema de gobierno autoritario, fuertemente centralizado y con acceso a la totalidad del poder político y otra corporativista, que pone el acento en un orden corporativo - profesional en vistas a sustituir subsidiariamente la acción del estado." Cristi and Ruíz, 82.
- ⁴⁴ "[regarding Liberal Conservatism] El actual régimen militar en Chile es precisamente un caso paradigmático de esta confluencia nocional." Cristi and Ruíz, 85.
- ⁴⁵ See Alejandro Venegas, Enrique MacIver, Valentin Letellier, Nicolás Palacios and Francisco Encina.
- ⁴⁶ Luis Galdames, *History of Chile*, trans. Isaac Cox (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 437.
- ⁴⁷ Galdames, *History of Chile* (1941), 439.
- ⁴⁸ "Al lado de la oligarquía que seguía deteniendo el poder político y económico; comenzaban a tomar influencia en el primer cuarto de este siglo los fuerzas sociales que hasta entonces se habían mantenido a la zaga de la clase dirigente: la clase media y el proletariado obrero." Francisco Frías Valenzuela, *Manual de Historia de Chile*, 2nd illus. ed. (Santiago: Editorial Nacimiento, 1969), 474.
- ⁴⁹ "La victoria, casi sin lucha, del estado centralizado y burocrático gracias a la aplicación de los respetados principios democrático-liberales." Francisco Silva V. in Sergio Villalobos, ed., *Historia de Chile*, Vol. 4 (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1976), 869.
- ⁵⁰ "Si por primera vez en Chile surgía una candidatura de esta naturaleza era porque había, al fin, una profunda transformación económica y social." Frías (2nd illus. ed., 1969), 461.

⁵¹ Frías, (2nd. illus. ed., 1969), 473.

⁵² Frías, (2nd. illus. ed., 1969), 456. He notes that, with the rise of the workers movement and an increase in labour unrest, the social question "took on alarming characteristics." ("...la cuestión social comenzaba a tomar caracteres alarmantes").

⁵³ Galdames, *History of Chile* (1941), 481.

⁵⁴ Dictator Carlos Ibáñez del Campo was known as "the broom", that "combated administrative immorality" ("La escoba", "que barrería con la inmoralidad administrativa populista."). Villalobos, *Historia de Chile* (3rd ed., 1982), 965.

⁵⁵ "[E]ntre los dos suicidios presidenciales." Vial, 7.

⁵⁶ Vial, 678.

⁵⁷ Vial, 674.

⁵⁸ Vial, 554-555.

⁵⁹ Vial, 7, 87.

⁶⁰ Vial, 496.

⁶¹ Vial, 527.

⁶² Vial, 516.

⁶³ Vial, 527.

⁶⁴ "La corrupción, entonces, existió y fué aumentando y su disolvente efecto social se multiplicó cuando la difundieron con escándalo los periódicos y las facciones en lucha." Here, Vial draws on Francisco Encina's critique of an immoral, factional oligarchy and its destructive affect on the nation. Vial, 586.

⁶⁵ Frías, (2nd. illus. ed., 1969), 449.

⁶⁶ "Este es un libro de Historia. No le corresponde, pues, juzgar la tesis científica misma..." Vial, 121.

⁶⁷ Villalobos (1976), 710. Silva writes about an "evolution" towards Parliamentarianism.

⁶⁸ "La aprobación de un estatuto de garantías, apresurada modificación constitucional que para el positivismo legalista en boga debía servir de valla al marxismo, no pudo ocultar que con el comienzo del gobierno de Allende, se había llegado a la coronación de una etapa de casi medio siglo: la victoria, casi sin lucha, del estado centralizado y burocrático, gracias a la aplicación de los respetados principios democrático-liberales." Villalobos, *Historia de Chile* (1976), 869.

⁶⁹ "Por otra parte, la necesidad de desalentar a los empresarios e inversionistas... obligó a proceder con ciertas restricciones." Villalobos, *Historia de Chile en Imágenes*, 974.

⁷⁰ Villalobos, *Historia de Chile en Imágenes*, 31.

⁷¹ Villalobos, *Historia de Chile en Imágenes*, 31.

⁷² Trouillot, 45.

⁷³ "Paragraphs of Senator Allende's speech on founding [sic.] his favourable vote to the so called 'warranty statute' at the senate's session on October 22, 1970." *The White Book of the Change of Government in Chile* (Santiago: Empresa Editora Nacional Gabriela Mistral, 1974), 207.

⁷⁴ "Paragraphs of Senator Allende's speech." *The White Book*, 208.

⁷⁵ Están aquí Lautaro y Caupolicán, hermanos en la distancia de Cuauhtémoc y Túpac Amaru. Hoy aquí con nosotros, vence O'Higgins, que nos dió la independencia política celebrando el paso hacia la independencia económica. Hoy aquí con nosotros, vence Balmaceda, combatiente en la tarea patriótica de recuperar nuestras riquezas del extranjero. Hoy, aquí con nosotros, también vence Recabarren con los trabajadores organizados tras años de sacrificios." Extract taken from "Programa básico de Gobierno de la Unidad Popular," *El Siglo de Santiago*, December 23, 1969; reprint in *Estructura social de Chile: Estudio, selección de textos y bibliografía*, ed. Hernán Godoy Urzúa (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1971), 582.

⁷⁶ "El atraso económico-social ha determinando una gran decadencia moral." Julio César Jobet, extract from *Ensayo crítico del desarrollo económico y social de Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1955); reprint in *Estructura social de Chile: Estudio, selección de textos y bibliografía*, ed. Hernán Godoy Urzúa (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1971), 395.

⁷⁷ Fisher, 5.

⁷⁸ Fisher, 136.

⁷⁹ Galdames, *History of Chile* (1941), 437.

⁸⁰ Galdames, *History of Chile* (1941), 368.

⁸¹ "Ni la autoridad pública, ni los patrones mismos han cuidado hasta ahora lo bastante de llenar los vacíos de la vida ruda del obrero..." Villalobos, *Historia de Chile* (3rd ed., 1982), 701-702.

⁸² "[L]a agitación de las masas proletarias continuó." Frías (2nd. illus. ed., 1969), 460.

⁸³ Frías (2nd. illus. ed., 1969), 471.

⁸⁴ Vitale, *Interpretación Marxista*, 27-28.

⁸⁵ Vitale, *Interpretación Marxista*, 27-28.

⁸⁶ Vitale, *Interpretación Marxista*, 16.

⁸⁷ "La Historia de América Latina es una Historia de una revolución democrático-burguesa frustrada." Vitale, *Interpretación Marxista*, 21.

⁸⁸ Vitale, *Interpretación Marxista*, 17.

⁸⁹ Osvaldo Lira, "Nación y Nacionalismo," in *Pensamiento Nacionalista*, ed. Alberto Arce Eberhard and Enrique Campos Menéndez (Santiago: Editora Nacional Gabriel Mistral, 1974), 20.

⁹⁰ Menéndez, 16.

⁹¹ "Statement by his excellency Vice Admiral Ismael Huerta, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile, in the XXVIII session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 9, 1973." in *The White Book*, 241.

⁹² "Statement by his excellency Vice Admiral Ismael Huerta." In *The White Book*, 253.

⁹³ "Statement by his excellency Vice Admiral Ismael Huerta." In *The White Book*, 253.

⁹⁴ *The White Book*, 229.

⁹⁵ "Que no iba a adquirir gran desarrollo debido a la falta de madurez política de las masas trabajadoras." Frías (2nd. illus. ed., 1969), 472.

⁹⁶ Frías (2nd. illus. ed., 1969), 471.

⁹⁷ "La existencia de operativos extranjeros – muchos españoles – puede explicar en parte el favor que contó en ciertos momentos la prédica anarquista." Villalobos, *Historia de Chile* (3rd ed., 1982), 702.

⁹⁸ Vitale, *Interpretación Marxista*, 50.

⁹⁹ "Los sufrientes usaron la violencia contra la sociedad y la sociedad les respondió con la represión." Vial, 496.

¹⁰⁰ Vial, 38-123.

¹⁰¹ Cristi and Ruíz, 96.

¹⁰² "de sangre y medio." Menéndez, 9.

¹⁰³ "Nacionalista fué, sin duda, al araucano... como el español." Menéndez, 9.

¹⁰⁴ "Hoy, aquí con nosotros, también vence Recabarren con los trabajadores organizados tras años de sacrificios." Extract taken from "Programa básico de Gobierno de la Unidad Popular," *El Siglo de Santiago*, December 23, 1969; reprint in *Estructura social de Chile: Estudio, selección de textos y bibliografía*, ed. Hernán Godoy Urzúa (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1971), 582.

¹⁰⁵ Cristi and Ruíz, 98.

¹⁰⁶ Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*, 2nd edition (New York: Verso, 1991), 200-201.

¹⁰⁷ Frías (2nd illus. ed., 1969), 471.

¹⁰⁸ Frías (14th ed., 1974), 480.

¹⁰⁹ Frías (14th ed., 1974), 474.

¹¹⁰ Frías (14th ed., 1974), 480.

¹¹¹ Frías (2nd illus. ed., 1969), 438.

¹¹² Frías (14th ed., 1974), 471.

¹¹³ Frías (14th ed., 1974), 462.

¹¹⁴ Frías (14th ed., 1974), 463.

¹¹⁵ "Las reformas tenían una tendencia a lograr una efectiva justicia social como medio de evitar el avance del comunismo... por eso mismo, al contagio marxista." Frías (14th ed., 1974), 465.

¹¹⁶ "Armonizar los explicables anhelos de cada sector con el interés nacional." Cristi and Ruíz, 104.

¹¹⁷ "Las fuerzas armadas fueron la expresión genuina del pueblo de Chile. Menéndez, 9. Also see pages 11 and 12.

¹¹⁸ Luis Moulian in Vitale, *Para Recuperar la Memoria Histórica*, 49.

¹¹⁹ Vial, 58, 554.

¹²⁰ Galdames died 35 years before the 1976 publication of his textbook, and, by 1974, Frías was 74 years old. For these reasons, we can conclude that the censorship displayed in the post coup versions of their histories reflects the political orientation of editors rather than of the authors themselves.

¹²¹ "Otros hechos de carácter policial perpetrados por agentes del gobierno en contra de la libertad de expresión hacen crecer la ola de impopularidad... del jefe del estado." Galdames, (12th ed., 1950), 571.

¹²² Galdames (12th ed., 1950), 579.

¹²³ "Una comprensión cada vez más armónica entre las distintas clases sociales." Galdames (12th ed., 1950), 588.

¹²⁴ "... La policía representa una garantía de tranquilidad. Cumple funciones preventivas, educativos y de utilidad pública." Galdames, (1st revised ed., 1976), 257.

¹²⁵ Fisher, 127.

¹²⁶ "60 jóvenes... eran fríamente masacrados por representantes de la fuerza de carabineros." Galdames (12th ed., 1950), 570.

¹²⁷ "Más de 60 jóvenes pertenecientes al mencionado partido perdieron la vida en un enfrentamiento con las fuerzas de orden." Galdames (1st revised ed., 1976), 263.

¹²⁸ "... la gestión del gobierno de izquierda estuvo... severamente controlada por los partidos de derecha." Galdames (12th ed., 1950), 579.

¹²⁹ "La gestión del gobierno estuvo, hasta principios de 1941, severamente fiscalizada por los partidos tradicionales." Galdames (1st revised ed., 1976), 267.

¹³⁰ Galdames (1st revised ed., 1976), 267.

¹³¹ One significant observation concerning revisions of content between Galdames' textbook editions is that the more contemporary the historical event, the more extensive or frequent the alterations. Clearly, the most obviously contested areas of history in Chilean school texts involve the most contemporary of historical events.

¹³² Frías (14th ed., 1974), 468.

¹³³ Frías cites Molina, and ex-minister of housing, at some length, "Además, por no haberse formando en el país un gobierno con una basa social y política suficientemente amplia, ni haberse creado una *verdadera mística nacional* para derrotar a la inflación, el tratamiento nunca se ha podido mantener por el tiempo requerido para extirpar el mal [*italics mine*]." Frías (14th ed., 1974), 468.

¹³⁴ Trouillot, 107.

¹³⁵ Frías, (14th ed., 1974), 480.

¹³⁶ Frías (14th ed., 1974), 497.

¹³⁷ Frías (14th ed., 1974), 498.

¹³⁸ Frías (14th ed., 1974), 469.

¹³⁹ Frías (2nd illus. ed., 1969), 450.

¹⁴⁰ "La Junta deberá sacar al país del estado de ruina y decadencia moral, política, económica y social en que lo encontró. Ello no significa una vuelta al pasado, sino la realización de todas aquellas que ya se hacen indispensables..." Frías (14th ed., 1974), 499.

¹⁴¹ Kieran Egan, "Perceptions of History: An Analysis of School Textbooks," *History and Theory*, Vol. 28, Issue 3 (October, 1989): 372.

¹⁴² Anne-Louise Shapiro, "Fixing History: Narratives of World War I in France," *History and Theory*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, Theme Issue 36: Producing the Past: Making Histories Inside and Outside the Academy (December, 1997): 121, 125, 128.

¹⁴³ Shapiro, 127.

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APPENDIX 1
TABLE OF TEXTBOOKS AND TEXTBOOK AUTHORS

AUTHOR	TITLE	EDITION	COMMENTS	SCHOOL
Francisco Frías Valenzuela	Manual de Historia de Chile	© 1969 2 nd Illustrated Edition	Relies on Galdames' earlier work.	Christian Democratic
	Manual de Historia de Chile	© 1974 14 th Edition (no illustrations)	Relies heavily on the White Book. Significant changes.	Christian Democratic
Luis Galdames (trans. Isaac Cox)	History of Chile	© 1941	Published the year of his death.	Christian Democratic
Luis Galdames	Historia de Chile	© 1950 12 th Edition	Published Post-humously.	Christian Democratic
	Historia de Chile	© 1974 1 st Revised Edition	Published Post-humously. Significant changes.	Christian Democratic
Gonzalo Vial Correa	History of Chile (5 vols.)	Volumes 1-4 © 1981, 1984, 1987, 1996.	Used in public schools in preparation for University exams.	Conservative
Sergio Villalobos and Francisco Silva V.	History of Chile (4 vols.)	©1974 1 st Edition	Francisco Silva wrote vol. 4, 20 th Century Chile.	Christian Democratic
Sergio Villalobos and Francisco Silva V.	History of Chile (4 vols.)	© 1982 3 rd Edition	Used in public schools in preparation for University exams.	Christian Democratic
Sergio Villalobos	Historia de Chile en Imágenes	©1984	Adapted from Villalobos et al., Historia de Chile.	Christian Democratic
Luis Vitale	Interpretación Marxista de la Historia de Chile (3 vols.)	©1967	Never used in public schools.	Marxist