**1.**

Beginning in the 1930s, Chilean society began to attribute exaggerated importance to having a university degree. The middle classes in particular were the primary victims of this discourse, as they were also the primary beneficiaries of public education, which saw its golden age between 1932 and 1970. The very experience of being educated gave added weight to the degree and opened the door to civic agency. As centers of political activity until 1973, universities were not immune to change. I will discuss this point in order to contextualize the radicalization of middle-class youth, whose class consciousness was key to their practice as agents of change, in keeping with the image of the "integral Chilean."

There were contradictions between different versions of the middle class, and particularly between different types of "integral Chileans," with some pursuing pleasure and easy riches, while others sought eudaimonia through spiritual refinement and the appreciation of nature. Both aspects highlight the underlying problem of the Chilean public education system from its earliest days: segmentation. Following the coup, the neoliberal approach taken in Chile would empower the strain of middle-class identity and "integral Chileans" geared toward hedonism and wealth, and promote self-definition through possessions rather than by personal qualities. A mark of profound social collapse, hedonism overpowered eudaimonia with renewed forms of class distinction. Even in terms of the ways revolution could be brought about, overcoming one’s class position by becoming a member of the working class would have its meaning redefined under the military regime.

This lecture focuses on the period during which "integral Chileans" on the left of the political spectrum played a leading role as agents of change. They aspired to this image due partly to the education they had received and to the example set by their teachers, who had themselves been inspired by a missionary calling. Teachers were agents of change, and students, rather than being mere objects, aspired to making their own contribution to society; thus, without realizing it, they were able to become agents of change themselves, setting an example of civic agency. Some of the more committed students grew increasingly radicalized, as did the country as a whole, and were not afraid to take action when circumstances required it. By then, this image fit with Southern Cone intellectuals’ endorsement of the link between "political commitment and knowledge" (Marchesi 2006: 138).

From the inception of the concept of the "integral Chilean" in the early 1930s, a gap was apparent between this middle-class ideal and reality. This aspirational Chilean identity was marked by a strong sense of moral and social duty. Starting in the humanities-focused public secondary schools, students placed a high value on the human being and democracy. Key elements of this social image included a civic spirit, patriotism and social commitment to the country in general, and to the disadvantaged in particular, all from a paternalistic perspective suited to the middle-class character. The "integral Chilean" was also characterized by individualism, as befits the success-oriented project with which the image was associated. Thus the contradictions inherent in the "integral Chilean" ideal gradually gave rise to different types of "integral" Chilean men and women in reality.

The political component evolved gradually and was instrumental in the split between "integral Chileans" on the right and left of the political spectrum in the early 1970s. Gender splits occurred in different ways in the middle classes at different ends of the political spectrum. For the scope of this lecture, I will focus solely on the male experience in the middle-class left. While this choice accentuates the dominant male hegemonic perceptions of political radicalization, it is worth noting that "integral Chilean women" on the radicalized left questioned this heteronormative model and participated just as actively in the revolutionary struggle, but without being able to refer to a manual for the "new man" like the one Ché Guevara provided for Latin American men (Hiner 2016: 386). The role of "integral Chilean women" on the radicalized left would emerge in its emancipated form only in the late 1960s.

The radicalization of "integral Chileans" on the left was powered by three factors directly related to the dynamics of the all-encompassing Cold War, which transcended economics and politics. First, from a cultural perspective, intellectuals called attention to how the production of knowledge plays a role in political processes; funding from the United States began to be questioned throughout the region (Marchesi 2006: 138). Second, the same continental context had already led to the fragmentation and radicalization of "integral Chileans" starting in the 1960s. When Brazil and Argentina, until then leaders in intellectual production, fell victim to military dictatorships in 1964 and 1966, respectively, the primary role of hosting and producing knowledge in South America fell to Chile. Third, the Chilean capital Santiago was home to important middle-class producers of knowledge such as the Latin American School of Social Sciences (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLASCO), the headquarters of the Special Commission for Latin America (Comisión Especial para América Latina, CEPAL), and other research centers with ties to the Catholic Church and to the reforms taking place at the University of Chile and the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, such as the Center for Socioeconomic Studies (Centro de Estudios Socioeconómicos, CESO) and the Center for the Study of National Circumstances (Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Nacional, CEREN) (Marchesi, 2017: 66). These centers boosted political radicalization and counteracted the policy recommendations of the early “Chicago Boys”—other examples of "integral Chileans" on the right who played leading roles in the dictatorship. The writing produced by these centers was heavily laden with nationalistic ideology (Pinto and Salazar 1999: 171). This environment contributed to regional academic exchange, as many exiled intellectuals found Chile to be an intellectual hotbed of the new left, an aspect that was enhanced when Salvador Allende came to power in 1970 and Chile came to be seen as a "laboratory country" (Rolle 2003: 30).

By viewing the experiences of "integral Chileans" on the left as ongoing attempts to live a life of eudaimonia, both before and after the coup, this analysis calls for a reexamination of the class distinction of these petit bourgeois youths and their ways of carrying out revolution. At the same time, it seeks to recover the human dimension of the radicalization of "integral Chileans" as individuals’ expressions of their own civic agency. This is directly related to middle-class values and the distinguishing feature of their practices, which led to both social and class transformations. One of the most prominent features of the left-leaning radicalization of "integral Chileans" was a democratic spirit that emphasized happiness as an attainable goal for society (Aristotle, 2014: 41).

By the 1970s, Chile had become a deeply divided country with fractured perspectives on national, cultural and social issues. So the merit that surrounds the images of "integral Chileans" on the left has not been valued or claimed in social terms, nor analyzed in class terms. This focus highlights the intersection of middle-class identity and culture intrinsic to the *ethos* of the "integral Chileans" who felt a duty to build their country, employ their knowledge in the service of the cause and were willing to pay the price for how this was done. The left and right had opposing views of how the country should be built, and Allende's Popular Unity (UP) front, the coup and the dictatorship accentuated these differences, permeating social foundations and producing a deep rupture in perceptions of social and national identity. "Chileanness" was a rhetorical resource appealed to strategically by both sides, and its meanings were reshaped as a result of the rupture; these reshaped national meanings were "a symptom of divisions rather than of unity" (Iturriaga 2003:320). Focusing on transcending class distinctions and cultural re-articulation will shed light on how Chileanness, civic values and the value of education converged in the context of the country's rapid shift from one political extreme to the other.

The particular ways its protagonists interacted with these three components recovered, in a reconfigured form, the eudaimonia that had led "integral Chileans" of previous decades to experiences of social sharing, exchange and knowledge. Through a more contemplative spirit of life that sought the common good and was defined by giving as a "specific human capacity" (Fromm 1983: 33), "integral Chileans" endorsed this agenda. Many of these young people saw themselves at a crossroads between religion and Marxism-Leninism. Not all of them went from one extreme to the other, but they questioned their identities and ideologies, contributing to and perpetuating their sense of eudaimonia, which explains why they sought to transcend their class identity, the guiding principle at that time. Their middle-class ethos questioned both ideology and knowledge. This questioning constituted a search for what gave their lives meaning (Fromm 2016: 16). The dictatorship entailed a profound rupture in social relations, humanism, knowledge and action, implemented through interventions in secondary schools and universities after the break with democracy. Under the dictatorship, "integral Chileans" on the left who were able to reinvent themselves in order to continue being agents of change did so—some clandestinely and some through grassroots organization, some supporting the cause within Chile, others supporting it from exile.

This lecture focuses on the experiences of Ramón and Raúl, both representatives of the social taxonomy that I have identified as "integral Chileans." Both participated in and dedicated their lives to the political radicalization of the left-wing middle classes. Ramón and Raúl were education students and activists in the Popular Unitary Action Movement (MAPU) during the Popular Unity (UP) government. They met again in the reorganization of the party in 1976, following the period of the harshest political repression in Chile (Stern 2013: 138).

**2.**

During the Popular Unity government, left-wing "integral Chileans" who were already university students found the freedom and space to transcend their class positions and thereby become complete. The Chilean environment at that time not only permitted, but also promoted this process.

In 1967, Raúl enrolled in one of the most important intellectual centers of the time, the University of Chile's Department of Education. He points to the differences that were beginning to emerge between the different types of "integral Chileans" as a key to his radicalization: "We were more intellectuals at that time. We adopted this nickname to distinguish ourselves from the theorists who sat around debating on the university campus, while the country was moving forward at a hundred miles per hour." This sentiment reflects the period when "integral Chileans" on the left, those who considered themselves complete as a result, began to view the debates on college campuses as insufficiently active. "Integral Chileans" wanted to radicalize and “take action”—an act directly related to transcending one's class position and the subjectivity of well-being associated with it.

To be an "integral Chilean," and therefore complete, one had to pay a price in comfort and enjoyed the rewards, as well as demonstrating that education is an agent for change. Raúl's radicalization can therefore be seen as "total liberation," as "radical (or revolutionary) humanism" (Fromm, 25). This is directly related to the bourgeois character of "integral Chileans" on the left and to their cultural capital, so it is not surprising that the main revolutionary political parties of the time originated at the universities in Santiago and other regions of Chile.

"Integral Chileans" were able to easily transcend their class positions and put their social commitment into practice during the UP government. Transcending their class position, or proletarianization, was the mantra of "integral Chileans" on the left at that time, a trend that continued in various ways under the dictatorship. In their encounters with the popular classes, these young people believed their various contributions were making a real difference to the people. In the South American context, Chile during the UP government was a prominent example of the displacement of the "Latin American struggle at the end of the twentieth century," a project which had spread from "the elites to the popular sectors" (Marchesi 148). This is directly related to the Chilean middle classes and their forms of human agency. This displacement of the struggle was the work of widely diverse versions of the middle class, with the "integral Chileans" playing a leading role.

In 1970, the UP government was at its strongest. Raúl, by then an activist in the MAPU, said that during that time, "I became a worker." Raúl's class transcendence illustrates the changes of the period, ranging from the most public to the most personal.

It was such a different reality at that time. I didn't come at it from my position as a middle-class professional. I was just a regular guy, I wore blue jeans, had shaggy hair, never stood out. On the contrary, I fit in very well with them. I didn't really belong among the workers who lived in the villages, later I came over here to the upper city. That's how it was. I didn't live with the workers, but I spent all my time with them, I shared with them.

Raúl was well received by the workers at the Sumar Polyester factory where he established the school, and he said that he felt like a common man through his daily practice of proletarianization. Raul's social commitment reflected his educational background at the National Institute and then at the University of Chile, where the Education Department was inspired him in particular to follow his inclination toward political activism. For Raúl, transcending his class position meant leaving the university and participating in the program created by two members of MAPU in Allende's Ministry of Education to provide supplementary education to workers.

Raúl clearly states that his experience of sharing with workers was mostly limited to a framework that reinforced his image as a "petit bourgeois revolutionary," meaning his efforts to transcend his class position took precedence over actually becoming a member of the working class. The limits of Raúl’s efforts to overcome his class position were significant, and they were in keeping with middle-class values, revealing a constant factor: breaking down the distance from which the middle class viewed the experience of becoming working class. With their otherness, the "integral Chileans" both belonged to the democratic path towards socialism and were certain they were making a contribution to that end. That is why Raúl has no problem pointing out the mistakes that were made at that time.

Raúl enthusiastically remembers what distinguished this project: "The idea was to create these little schools right there inside the companies, in the workplace. So they called me, and I jumped into the middle of this situation." The project expanded within the companies under state intervention during the Popular Unity government. Raúl arrived at the polyester factory in Sumar: "At Sumar Polyester, there was a warehouse available that could be turned into a school. So I went to work there with two other classmates from the Institute, and we worked there right up until the day before the coup." On September 11, 1973, Raúl's working-class transformation was forced to come to an end. The program was able to graduate only one generation from the Sumar Polyester Workers School.

Raúl was sought out again in 1976 for the reestablishment of the MAPU: "So we started all over again, forming a popular front, with us working on the cultural aspect, but various things were happening in other areas, always with links to the parish churches." Because of the harsh repression at that time, the groups needed some sort of shelter: "The cover given to us by the church gave us a certain degree of safety."

At the end of 1976, the Santa Marta Cultural Association was created as a way to reorganize social spaces, which reflected the magnitude of the social division in the country. Raúl created the group as a way of realizing the vision of the future and ideology held dear by middle-class youth, "integral Chileans" like himself, who were now able to rebuild values that had been interrupted by the coup as a result of the disruption of social life and dissolution of meeting places. This is how Raúl describes the activities he organized at the time and the risks they entailed:

"I was leading a double life. It was my job to be in the school as a teacher, to carry out my duties as a teacher. We were doing the usual activities like singing festivals, theater productions, that sort of thing; you knew there was a purpose behind it and certain people participated, we had ways of recognizing each other. You knew what it was for, the political contribution you were making at that time. These were spaces where people were encouraged to meet each other."

Ramón, another example of an "integral Chilean," began his activism in secondary school by participating in after-school political education classes and then joining the Popular Unitary Action Movement (MAPU) in 1969; during his second year in the humanities school, he ran for president of the Student Government (CAA) of his secondary school, the Fiscal de San Antonio, a post he held through his third year. Ramón emphasizes, "it wasn't a small school, it was the largest school in the area, with 1,500 to 1,800 students. At that time, the secondary schools were of a different quality of education."

The political education classes show how radicalization was tied to knowledge and permeated all areas. The education of the "integral Chileans" in the late 1960s included a component that until then had been unprecedented. The secondary school was the greenhouse in which middle-class youth were radicalized through debates, study, camaraderie and humanism in all its splendor, and these activities were reinforced at the university, the ultimate center for debate. The mingling of knowledge production with political activism on the ground nourished a renewed sense of class and belonging that included various forms of becoming working class and which sustained the shared middle-class roots of the "integral Chileans."

When Ramón moved to Santiago to begin his university education in 1972, he said, "I naturally kept up my political activism at the university, everything from street demonstrations to volunteer work." Ramón was also part of the group that reestablished the MAPU in 1976. His experience shows how extreme the demands of revolutionary activity could be, including being forced into a clandestine life following an incident at the iconic Grand Palace theater. At the end of May, a major event was organized at the theater in downtown Santiago, famous for its beauty and with a seating capacity of 1,200 people—an ideal venue for a day of cultural programs. Ramón was asked to read a speech. As he described it:

"It was definitely out of keeping with that venue, very political, very confrontational. They closed the curtains behind me, those giant theater curtains, and said 'Finish up, 'cause the DINA [secret police] are here,' so I said in a hurry 'Comrades, we'll have to continue this conversation later.' They closed the curtain and got me out of there, got me into different clothes. I wasn't aware of this whole security system, they got me up and out of there, and I disappeared."

Even Ramón, an activist insider, was not familiar with security protocols for mass events. The event at the Grand Palace would be one of the first large-scale events following the coup that symbolized re-articulation. Ramón summarized the experience of the speech: "In the days that followed, I realized that people began to avoid greeting me at the university because everyone was at the Grand Palace. Of all the political leaders at the time, I was the one in the spotlight." Because the DINA secret police had been at the theater, there could be serious consequences for such prominence. The theater had been full, and Ramón had no choice: "I had to put my studies on hold again. You didn't know who was on which side."

Ramón's experience describes the magnitude of what was happening at that time. Aside from the scope of his own activities, Raúl points out that "culture is what makes it possible in some way to rebuild this social fabric." Radicalization was accompanied by new expressions of class subjectivity, which by that time were inherent in the political activism already consolidated by "integral Chileans" on the radicalized left.

These gatherings were common and were seen as legitimate spaces for socialization and cultural gathering beyond political purposes. Organizers of events were required to obtain a permit, and it was not unusual for them to be observed by the police or even the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA), the secret police that served Pinochet's dictatorship between 1973 and 1977. These spaces emerged in response to a genuine need for social interaction, and were also a result of the fact that several years after the 1973 coup, it was apparent that the new reality was firmly in place.

**3.**

The radicalization of "integral Chileans" continued gradually over the course of the 20th century, and by the late 1960s was promoted by knowledge, the role of teachers and frameworks like after-school political classes. The greenhouse in which "integral Chileans" were formed continued to be the secondary school, followed by the university. The experiences of "intergral Chileans" like Raúl and Ramón in this analysis show the social value of democratic identity and practice, with civic agency relating these values to their class character, their cultural capital and the transformation of the radicalized left in Chile during the 1970s.

Secondary schools and universities promoted ways of carrying out the revolution through a variety of projects aligned with the Popular Unity government, such as the Ministry of Education and the Unified National School project. Pilot projects, such as Raúl's school to supplement the education of workers at the Sumar Polyester factory, were carried out by young people who demonstrated "integral Chilean'" middle-class identity and culture. These initiatives arose naturally, promoted by the environment of the time, offering the "integral Chileans" of the middle classes a real opportunity to build a country on the basis of democratic ideals. These ideals were certainly hard for part of the population to accept, especially towards the end of the Allende government.

Following the coup, during the period of the harshest repression in the early years, "integral Chileans" on the left began to reorganize spaces that had been closed by the government. There are three features that make using cultural activities to reorganize both powerful and attractive. The "integral Chileans" on the left who were able to reinvent themselves found a new niche and began to reestablish the cultural and social fabric, as Raúl did with the Santa Marta Cultural Association or though events such as the Grand Palace theater. First, forms of cultural consumption such as music festivals corresponded to the Chilean middle-class image of culture that had been interrupted by the coup. Since their secondary school days, "integral Chileans" had been consumers of the arts, theater, music and sports. Therefore, cultural activity was a familiar way of reorganizing socially because it was part of their already-existing cultural and social capital. Popular, national and continent-wide elements converged in creative ways, some of them intentionally low-brow, that fit with the popular cultural line taken by the UP. Second, these encounters served as a space for socializing and symbolized the power to gather and share a public space to demand, question and express pain, while also conveying messages of hope and happiness. Thus, this new model of authorized gatherings was of tremendous value. Third, the events preserved a political character, expressed in the combined will of their organizers, the risks and precautions they took, and the cover that the church provided in terms of safety and security. As a collective experience in the context of cultural reorganization under the dictatorship, the festivals and events played a powerful role in cultivating the common roots of the middle-class. Combining popular with bourgeois culture and national with cultural expressions, they were reinvented forms of expressing civic agency. The combination of popular and bourgeois elements can be seen in the cultural festivals even under the dictatorship. For many, the attempt to become members of the working class had come to an end after the coup. Thus festivals and cultural encounters used the music of the UP and the Nueva Canción movement under the new structure of authorized gatherings to reach a wide public. While the national and cultural elements were related to the line-up of groups and artists who performed, clear political messages could be read (or heard) between the lines. These elements combined with one another in their "middle-class" expression. The intentionally working-class rhetoric of the "integral Chileans" of the UP persisted in its reorganization under the dictatorship. They felt a moral commitment to the activities undertaken and enjoyed their effect. Being and making one's surroundings more harmonious continued to be the guiding principle for "integral Chileans" and their subjective class experience.

Despite the precautions, these initiatives had consequences for their protagonists. Ramón attracted too much notice and had to put his studies on hold after having delivered the speech at the Grand Palace cultural event in 1976; these events were often held in May to coincide with the anniversary of the founding of the MAPU. Politics was an integral part of these activities, as I discussed with regard to Raúl and his double life with the Santa Marta Association. This cultural re-articulation was therefore extremely important and one of the first signs of hope, an expression of reformulated class subjectivities following the break with democracy. In this new version of the national, the cultural and the social, the "integral Chileans" found the courage to make the "fields of embroidered flowers" bloom once again in Chile.